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Itta Bena, Mississippi: A Town So Set In The Southern Way That Even The Wind Whistles Dixie

By PAT SLATTERY

It appears like a scene from a picturesque postcard, the little town that greets the stranger who takes the turn off of Highway 7 west of Greenwood.

White houses surrounded by green grass make for a pastoral sight of the good and comfortable life.

Yet as the stranger nears the middle of town and takes a right turn across the railroad tracks, the good life stays behind. The paved streets turn to gravel and cramped little shacks replace the well-spaced white houses. The sad faces of old black folk nodding in their rocking chairs peep mysteriously at the newcomer.

IT IS THEN that the stranger knows where he is. The town is Itta Bena, Itta Bena, Mississippi—a town so set in the Southern way that even the wind whistles Dixie.

I came to know Itta Bena for five days during Easter Vacation.

Forty students from the Madison area went to Itta Bena. The trip was organized by a group from Holy Name Seminary who have made the Southern sojourn at least ten times during the past two years.

We were scattered throughout Mississippi and we worked at various projects, ranging from making repairs at churches to assisting at Headstart Centers. Each of us was given a place to stay with a black family.

The group's purpose is hard to define—especially to questioning parents. Everyone realized that our presence in Mississippi for five days wasn't going to change the way conditions have been for the last 100 years. And everyone also realized that northern white liberals are dubious missionaries.

ITTA BENA IS A sleepy town of 2500 people that is located around 100 miles north of the state capital of Jackson. It is a typical town for rural Mississippi in that the pace of life is slow and what isn't accomplished today just might get done tomorrow.

Everybody greets each other with a wave, a nod, or a "how y'll doing." Nobody stays a stranger in Itta Bena for longer than a day.

Agriculture plays an important role in the town, and to see a tractor rumbling down a street or even a mule with a wagon hitched behind isn't unusual. Cotton is king, and while we were there the farmers were preparing for spring planting.

Main St. consists of two blocks filled with small shops on both sides. Business often takes second place to the smaller pleasures of life, as many of the owners close their stores for the noon hour and go home to eat lunch.

ONE FACTORY STANDS outside of town. There have been efforts to lure more industry to the town but nothing successful has resulted. Nearby, Mississippi Valley Technical College (MVT), an all-black four year school, also employs a goodly number of people.

Although it has been over 100 years since the Emancipation Proclamation and 18 years since the Supreme Ct. struck down the separate-but-equal clause, the blacks in Itta Bena are far from having equal rights.

Blacks can't use the public library, the downtown public park, or the shelter in the event of a hurricane. They have to sit on the "colored" side of the Southern Cafe, Main St.'s largest restaurant, and to this day there hasn't been a Negro hired as a policeman.

"It's the way of life down here," voiced one black high school student. "You gotta learn to live the right way in order to stay out of trouble with the law."

A CIVIL RIGHTS lawyer works in nearby Greenwood. There used to be five freedom lawyers in Greenwood during the height of the movement. Now there remains only

one, and he is so swamped with cases that he doesn't have time to work on Itta Bena's complaints.

There are changes, however, for a black middle class seems to be emerging. The Federal Housing Authority has built brick houses on the edge of town that could pass for comfortable bungalows in any Northern suburb. New cars muscle through the streets, driven by some of the younger people who are "making it," and even the poorest homes have a TV antenna sprouting from their roofs.

Black high school students don't have to travel to Greenwood to go to an all-black school any longer. Itta Bena's high school was forced to integrate two years ago.

Most of the white students have fled to Pillow Academy, a center for all-white education. The result is that Itta Bena's high school is now over 90 per cent black.

THE FAMILY STAYED with could well have been typical. For five days I was the guest of Mr. and Mrs. Crawder and their six children, who ranged in age from 16 to 6.

The Crawder's home consisted of six rooms, but the claustrophobic conditions didn't seem to create family friction.

A Bible was displayed prominently in the front room and a picture of John Kennedy hung crookedly on the wall.

Mrs. Crawder works six days a week as a cook at the local college and Mr. Crawder works whenever he can find a job. Mrs. Crawder sees to it that her three oldest sons, Leroy, Willie, and Larry, attend choir practice twice a week and sing at the service on Sunday.

Leroy, who just turned 16, isn't too worried about getting a driver's license like most boys his age. His main concern is getting enough money together to buy his own basketball and make the team next year.

THE THREE YOUNGEST children are experts at entertaining themselves with simple games. Eight-year-old Catherine



Cardinal photo by Arthur Pollock

"Cat" for short) is a consummate tiddly winks player. Her two younger brothers, known to everyone as Sugarlump and Honeycup, could hold their own against anybody in a game of marbles.

"I never saw a white person eat before," said Honeycup as I sat down with the family for my first encounter with cornbread and greens. After dinner, however, and after a two hour game of tiddly winks that included all the kids, we dropped our suspicions: Friends at last.

Although they may never get the All-American-Family-of-the-Year award, the Crawders have something special. They aren't rich, but they're wealthy—that peculiar, improbable wealth measured in tiddly-winks and unaffected lifestyle.

In Itta Bena there is a distinct lack of young married adults. Many young people have fled North, where they have heard tales of equal opportunity and high paying jobs.

SOME STAY. FEGAN Gibbs is one of them. Gibbs returned to nearby Ripley, Mississippi after a four year stint in the Air Force. Although he saw the world, he was determined to return home and start changing things.

The first thing he did after his arrival was to organize a Veteran's Club. "Vets aren't as afraid as most people down here," Gibbs told me. "We've seen the outside world and we're ready to start changing Mississippi now."

After getting 30 vets together, Gibbs paid a courtesy call on the mayor, presenting a list of grievances.

"I got the Chamber of Commerce calling me now, inviting me to dinner," he chuckled. "Sometimes you gotta get a little militant to shake things up."

FEGAN GIBBS' DEVOTION to the movement might be a little more intense than others. There's something special that stops him from floating North. Fegan Gibbs' brother was one of the two students

shot three years ago by Mississippi troopers at Jackson State.

Another young resident who prefers Itta Bena life is a junior music major at MVTC named Eli. "I lived in Cincinnati till I was 14," he said, "and living in a big city ghetto is tough. Gangs will bust your head for no reason. There's not much to do in Itta Bena but at least it's quiet and peaceful down here."

Housed in an old brick building is the headquarters for the Voter Registration League. The organization, headed by Willie McGee, is working to establish a solid political base. Although most of the people have registered, the task is far more complex than that.

"These older people don't know what's pulling off," complained a young worker. "The whites come over and shake hands with some of the older blacks and buy them a drink. Next thing you know the whites are telling them how to vote and the fools are doing exactly what they say. There's a lot more to organizing than just having people register."

JAMES MERIDETH, THE first black to attend the University of Mississippi, recently returned to his native state after six years in New York. He said that the South is the first place where true integration will take place.

Yet in Itta Bena, where conditions are changing, blacks and whites are still dancing six feet apart. But there is a spirit of cooperation in Itta Bena among the blacks that wants to make things go.

Earl Reed, who comes from a family of 15, is a senior in high school. His brother went North and became a Black Muslim. Earl wants to change things too, but through more harmonious methods.

Earl's philosophy is simple: "If people treat us right, we're going to treat them right too."

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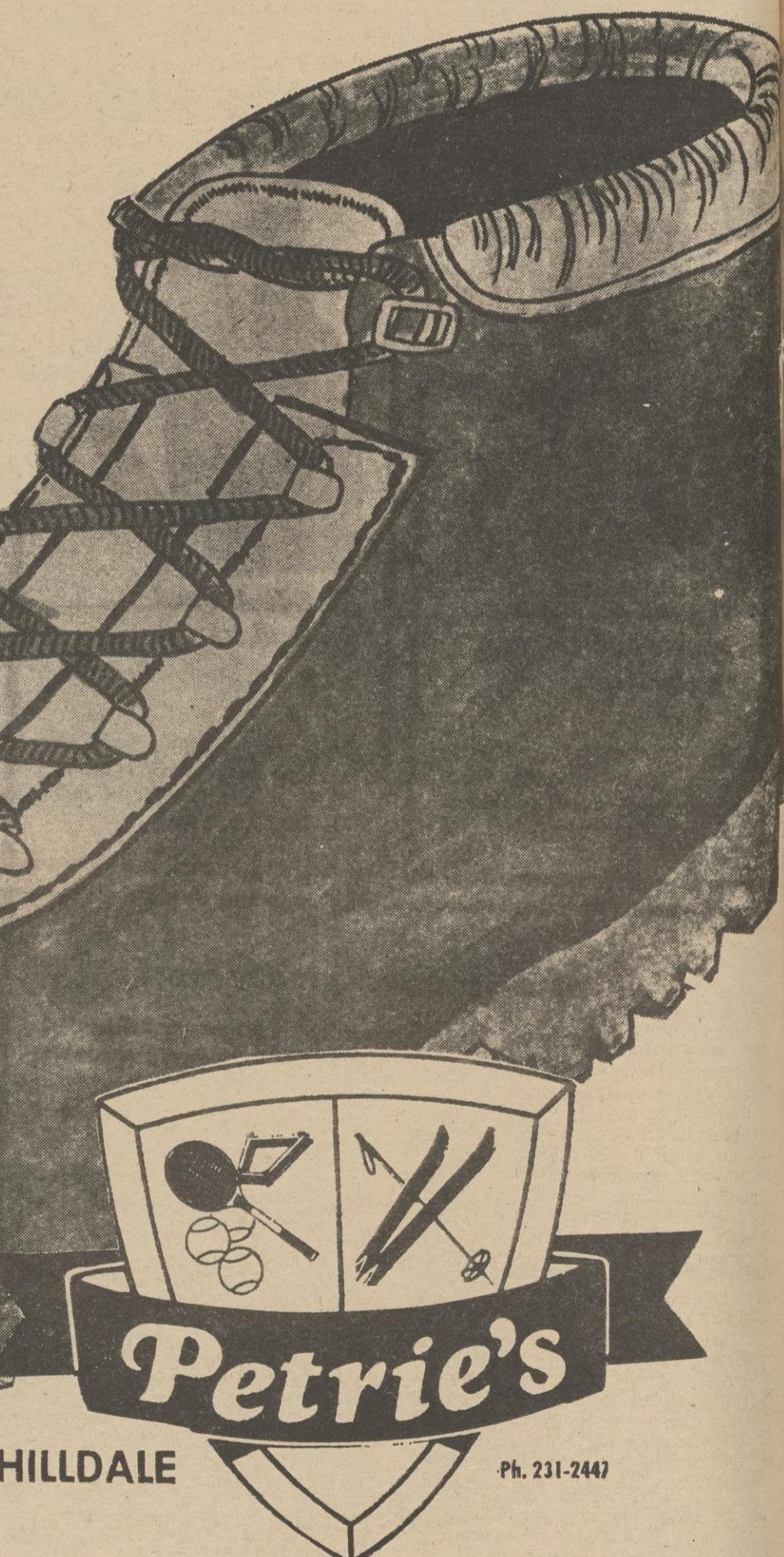
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Project Air War, Washington, D.C., which recently released this report, is one of the major information centers in the country studying and analyzing the ongoing war, a conflict which has escalated in the air even as U.S. footsoldiers have been withdrawn.

The Nixon Administration's decision to carry out surprise B52 raids in and around Haiphong is one of the most reckless and serious escalations of the war in the last 25 years. It is not only that the sudden, high-level, night-time, carpet bombing of an area inhabited by 400,000 people is an act of uncommon savagery, necessarily bringing death and injury to thousands. It is that until now Haiphong has stood as a symbol of ultimate American restraint in the face of intense domestic and worldwide criticism of the U.S. air war against Vietnam. By bombing Haiphong, the Nixon Administration is serving clear notice that it will stop at nothing in its attempt to maintain its position in Indochina.

Until now conventional wisdom has held that the Administration would keep to a low profile in Vietnam in this crucial Presidential election year. The bombing of Haiphong, however, makes it clear that Nixon places a far greater priority on victory in Vietnam. It is no longer unrealistic to suggest that only massive domestic and international protest and resistance may halt the total destruction of Hanoi and Haiphong, the mining of Haiphong harbor, devastation of the North's dike system, or even more blatant acts of mass murder.

THE FOLLOWING FACTS must be noted:

1. The B52 bombing of Haiphong was massive, indiscriminate and unprecedented.

The Johnson Administration bombed Haiphong regularly from 1966 through 1968. But these strikes were limited in the "Prohibited Areas" of 4 nautical miles around Haiphong center. As a March 1968 Joint Chiefs of Staff memo noted, "The prohibited areas were created in December, 1966. Numerous strikes, however, have been permitted in these areas over the past two and one-half years, e.g., dispersed pol, sam and aaa sites..." (Source: Pentagon Papers, Gravel Ed., IV, p. 255)

These past raids, however, were carried out by jet bombers with a relatively limited radius of bombing destruction. April 15, 1972 was not only the first time that B52s were sent over Haiphong, the use of dozens of these giant bombers ensured that saturation bombing occurred for the first time in the Haiphong area.

B52s are huge 8-engined aircraft with a crew of six and two 2,500 gallon wing tanks. Each sortie carries 25-30 tons of bombs, either as 108 five hundred pound bombs or 66 seven hundred fifty pound bombs or some combination thereof. Bombing from 30-35,000 feet, B52s leave craters 35 feet deep by 45 feet in diameter with their 500 pounders. A typical B52 strike involves 6 B52s saturating a selected grid square, leaving a swath of destruction half a mile wide by 3 miles long. On April 14, the New York Times reported that about 150 B52s were in the Indochina theater, 50% more than were present at the very peak of the air war in 1968.

IT MAY NOT BE unreasonable to assume that at least 100 of these, along with dozens of assorted jet aircraft, were loosed on Haiphong on the night of April 14th.

The fact that these raids were carried out at night ensured that saturation and indiscriminate bombing of this heavily populated area was carried out. For at night, even the light spotter planes which sometimes guide B52 raids in the daytime for greater precision were unavailable. Neither, of course, were the ground spotters who made more precise B52 bombing possible during the siege of Khe Sanh.

2. The use of B52s over Haiphong has necessarily led to the large-scale slaughter of civilians.

Even when the air war against North Vietnam was carried out only by jets, the bombing caused heavy civilian casualties. As the Cornell Air War Study notes, "Targets...in a strategic bombing campaign are situated near predominantly civilian areas...the bombing inflicted severe civilian damage on the civilian society as a whole...In 1967 the non-combatant casualty rate was quoted at 1,000 per week (Robert McNamara)...and the equivalent casualty rate in the U.S. would be more than 600,000 per year.

The official population of Haiphong and its suburbs in 1960 was 369,248. Although many children and others were removed from the city during the mid-60s, many returned after the November, 1968, bombing halt. Given the population growth and surprise of the April 14th bombing attack, there may have been well over 300,000 people in the area hit by the B52s.

THE PENTAGON PAPERS MAKE clear, moreover, that the heavy civilian

casualties expected to occur from bombing Haiphong—and the worldwide protest they would entail—were the main reasons that Johnson did not agree to level it. As a memo of the ISA, prepared in Under Secretary of Defense Warnke's office reported: "Experience has indicated that systematic operations particularly against road and rail routes (in the Hanoi-Haiphong area) adds simply and slightly to repair burdens, while at the same time involving substantial civilian casualties in the many suburban civilian areas located along these routes."

Civilian casualties from the bombing, moreover, are by far the greatest portion. As a summary of the bombing of North Vietnam noted in 1966, "Estimated civilian and military casualties in NVN also went up from 13,000 to 23-24,000 (About 80 per cent civilians)." (Emphasis added, Pentagon Papers, Gravel Edition, IV, p. 136)

But although the Joint Chiefs of Staff did not dispute the heavy damage to civilians, they did not stop pushing for bombing in Haiphong in any event. As the Pentagon

Vietnam's military supplies do not come through Haiphong, but through China. As a study carried out under Defense Secretary Clifford noted in March, 1968, "The remaining issue on interdiction of supplies had to do with the closing of the port of Haiphong. Although this is the route by which some 80 per cent of NVN imports come into the country, it is not the point of entry for most of the military supplies and ammunition. These materials predominately enter via the rail routes from China. The closing of Haiphong port would not prevent the continued supply of sufficient materials to maintain North Vietnamese military operations in the South."

Indeed, the Clifford group concluded that an attack on Haiphong would actually be counter-productive. "Apprehensions about bombing attacks that would destroy Hanoi and Haiphong may at some time help move them toward productive negotiations. Actual destruction of these areas would eliminate a threat that could influence them to seek a political settlement on terms acceptable to us."

measures that reduce the society's vulnerability to future attack and develop an increased capacity for quick repairs and restoration of essential functions. The great variety of physical and social countermeasures that North Vietnam has taken in response to the bombing is now well documented but the potential effectiveness of these countermeasures has not been adequately considered in previous planning or assessment studies. (Pentagon Papers, Gravel Ed. IV, p. 223, 224).

IT MUST BE UNDERSTOOD that Nixon has left the Vietnamese no choice but to continue their present offensive. It has already dropped over 3.2 million tons of bombs on Indochina, more than any other leader in history; he has invaded Cambodia, doubled the bombing of Laos while invading it with 10,000 Thai soldiers in the North and 20,000 ARVN in the south, and had already hit North Vietnam on 328 admitted occasions before the March 30th offensive began; clearly he had no intention of negotiating an end to American involvement in Indochina, and had instead settled into a stable air war which extended indefinitely into the future. The Vietnamese have clearly concluded that they have no alternative to a military offensive to see the United States leave Indochina. To suggest that they will halt their offensive now that it has begun under the threat of bombing strains the imagination.

The desperate and reckless quality of the bombing is, moreover, no more dramatically illustrated than by its effect on the sensitive issue of captured American pilots.

To begin with, such bombing drastically increased the number of American pilots who are shot down and captured. Over 350 men who were alive and well when Richard Nixon took office are now listed as captured or missing in action. The great escalation in bombing over Hanoi and Haiphong—Hanoi radio reported shooting down 4 jets and one B 52, for a total of 14 men. In the week ending April 11, 19 men were listed as missing in action, most of them airmen.

In addition, an escalation of the bombing like this ensures the prolongation of imprisonment of those men already captured, men who could be brought home were the Nixon Administration to negotiate an end to American involvement in Indochina.

AND, MOST SERIOUSLY, attacks against Hanoi/Haiphong greatly endanger the lives of those pilots now in captivity. As the study prepared under CLark Clifford reported in March 1968 states: "Although the NVN do not mark the camps where American prisoners are kept...heavy and indiscriminate attacks in the Hanoi area would jeopardize the lives of these prisoners and alarm their wives and parents into vocal opposition." (Pentagon Papers, Gravel Ed., IV, p. 251-252).

The Nixon Administration's willingness to even risk drastically inflaming the delicate POW issue in this Presidential election year ominously suggests that it has abandoned reason.

In this situation, anything is possible.

The most frightening but real prospect at this point is that it may go so far as to bomb North Vietnam's dike system.

WITHIN A FEW WEEKS, the waters of the Red River Delta will be swollen by rains, and the danger of flooding will be at its greatest. North Vietnam's greatest vulnerability has always been the ease with which the U.S. bombing could flood the country's rice-growing area and cause massive famine which could kill millions of people. High Air Force officers pressed hard for the bombing of the dike systems in the North during the Johnson Administration, and although the bombing policy never went so far as an all-out effort against the system, the dikes were often hit as part of the effort to raise the cost for the civilian population. In May and July, 1966, for example, authorities of Nam Dinh city told New York Times correspondent Harrison Salisbury that U.S. planes had dropped 6 bombs on 2 kilometer kilometer dike which protected the city against floods, causing damage to many sections. Asked to comment later, the Defense Department did not deny the charge. According to Christopher Beal of the "punitive bombing" of Red River delta dikes was reported to him by "reputable non-Communist sources" in the summer of 1967, when the waters were at their seasonal high.

Whether or not this happens, however, present realities are ugly enough. A dramatic escalation has taken place, with American B52s and jets carrying out no-holds-barred bombing against the North.

Much of what will happen will be blacked out. On April 12, the Pentagon announced that from now on it would "probably not" give information to the public on U.S. bombing raids on any "regular" basis.

But unless public pressure is raised, when we do find out it may well tear this country apart.

The Viet Bombings: Beyond The Brink



Cardinal studio photo

Papers reported in October, 1967. "In addition to mining the harbors, the chiefs requested that the comprehensive prohibition in the Hanoi/Haiphong areas be removed with the expected increase in civilian casualties to be accepted as militarily justified and necessary.

The attitude of the military was put somewhat more pungently by Marine Commandant Gen. Wallace Greene in testimony before the Senate Preparedness Investigating Subcommittee, October 23, 1967: We are at war with North Vietnam right now, today, and we shouldn't be so much interested in their anger as we are in bringing the war home to everyone of them up there." Army Chief of Staff Harold Johnson, testifying at the same hearing, was even more explicit: "I put 'innocent' civilians in quotation marks," he stated.

THE B52 BOMBING OF Haiphong clearly illustrates that the military has succeeded beyond its wildest dreams. Even at the height of the air war in 1968, there was no talk of loosing B52s on the Hanoi/Haiphong area.

There is no need to wait several months for the inevitable reports by American visitors to Haiphong of heavy civilian casualties from the April 14th raids. The official report of widespread use of B52s in the most heavily populated area of Indochina is evidence enough.

3. The B52ing of Haiphong serves no useful military end; its primary goal is to terrorize the Vietnamese into submission.

Preliminary reports on the Haiphong bombing indicate that the harbor itself were hit, however, it would be of limited military significance and have little effect on the fighting in the South.

An October 1967 CIA study clearly stated that a bombing campaign against lines of communication (LOCs) — such as roads and railroads — leading out of Haiphong would be useless. "Prospects are dim that an air interdiction campaign against LOCs leading out of Haiphong along could cut off the flow of seaborne imports and isolate Haiphong."

THE SAME REPORT WENT on to conclude that even mining Haiphong Harbor would be militarily ineffective: "...the combined interdiction of land and water routes, including the mining of the water approaches to the major ports and the bombing of ports and trans shipment facilities... would not be able to cut off the flow of essential supplies and, by itself, would not be the determining factor in shaping Hanoi's outlook to the war."

The reason is simple. Most of North

Why then was Haiphong attacked by B52s on April 14th?

THE ANSWER WAS PUT rather delicately by a New York Times article of April 14th, 1972: "In a comment on the report of B52s going North: 'administration officials disclosed today that...the objectives were diplomatic and political as well as military.'

Since the evidence is overwhelming that the attacks against Hanoi serve little useful military purpose, the only conclusion is that they are primarily "diplomatic" and "political."

In fact, John McNaughton put it more clearly in a January 18, 1966 memo: "To avoid the allegation that we are practising 'pure blackmail' the targets should be military targets and the declaratory policy...should be that our objective is only to destroy military targets." (Pentagon Papers, Gravel Edition, Volume IV, p. 45).

The B52ing of Haiphong and the later attacks against Hanoi are clearly little more than "pure blackmail."

FACED WITH A DETERIORATING military situation in South Vietnam, the Nixon Administration has responded by launching sneak terror attacks against Haiphong and Hanoi in an attempt to terrorize the Vietnamese into submission.

4. There is no evidence whatsoever that these attacks can succeed: On the contrary, they prolong the war, bring more POWs, and open up the prospect of far greater escalation.

The notion that bombing Hanoi and Haiphong will break the will of the Vietnamese is patently absurd. In October 1967, after the United States had already dropped nearly 300,000 tons of bombs on North Vietnam, a top-level Jason study of the bombing concluded: "The expectation that bombing would erode the determination of Hanoi and its people clearly overestimated the persuasive and disrupting effects of the bombing and, correspondingly, underestimated the tenacity and recuperative capabilities of the North Vietnamese. That the bombing has not achieved anticipated goals reflects a general failure to appreciate the fact well-documented in the historical and social scientific literature that a direct, frontal attack on a society tends to strengthen the social fabric of the nation, to increase popular support of the existing government, to improve the determination of both the leadership and the populace to fight back, to induce a variety of protective

Dennis Brutus Is A Man With A Tough Problem

By HERB GOULD

Dennis Brutus is a man with a tough problem on his hands — convincing the world that his native country (South Africa) is racist and should be boycotted until it totally drops its apartheid practices.

Brutus is particularly concerned with sport. "We've never had the success politically or socially that we've had in sport," he explained last week.

Brutus' extensive work to have South Africa barred from the Olympic Games met with success in 1964 and 1968. Brutus, however, was continually harassed by the South African government.

BRUTUS WAS SHOT in the stomach in August, 1963, when he tried to escape from Security Police who were detaining him. Brutus had tried to leave South Africa to attend the meeting in

which the International Olympic Committee (IOC) was to decide the fate of South Africa in the 1964 Olympics.

He learned of South Africa's banishment from the '64 Olympics while serving a 1 1/2 year sentence in the notorious Robben Island prison, outside of Cape Town.

Brutus left South Africa in 1966, to continue his work with the South African Non-Racial Olympic Committee (SANROC). He is presently an English professor at Northwestern University.

Since South Africa's expulsion from the 1964 Olympics, many individual sports federations have also excluded the apartheid country from participation.

Within the last month, South Africa's suspension from participating in the Davis Cup (tennis) was extended.

BRUTUS FEARS THE CON-

cessions that South African whites are claiming to have made in order to be admitted to the 1972 Summer Olympics at Munich at the end of this summer will succeed.

The whites are mobilizing in an effort to participate in the Munich Olympics, Brutus feels.

"The South Africans amended their laws so that blacks could take part in anything that the government labelled 'an international event,'" Brutus claims.

"This is the play to avoid boycotts and isolationism," he noted. "This is the way they will go to Munich."

BRUTUS EXPLAINED there are two black athletic bodies in South Africa. One is open to all athletes. The second group is comprised of black athletes who work in the gold mines.

Excellent facilities have been provided for the so-called gold mine athletes. In return, these blacks publicly favor "separate, but equal" sports organizations. They also participate in the "international events" when the whites ask them to.

"These Uncle Toms are giving the whites respectability," Brutus feels.

"The Uncle Toms are saying, 'You stay white and we'll stay black and whenever you're in trouble, we'll bail you out,'" Brutus explained.

BRUTUS SAID THAT, in the

past, the U.S. had been very good about honoring the athletic boycott against South Africa. He reasoned that the U.S. refrained from sending either whites or blacks because athletic feared that American blacks would not compete if the boycott was not observed.

However, the white South African concessions make it more difficult to keep people from going to South Africa.

"Now we've got to tie up this thing as soon as possible," Brutus explained. For that reason Brutus and others in the U.S. have formed the "Committee For Concerned Blacks (CCB)."

The CCB hopes to explain to U.S. athletes the true situation in South Africa. Although South African blacks are participating in sport around the world, they are not competing with South African teams; they are just individual athletes.

BRUTUS WANTS TO prevent further appearances in South Africa by Americans such as Lee Elder. Elder is a black golfer on the professional tour in the U.S. and he played an exhibition in South Africa last year.

Brutus would like to enlist the support of black professional athletes in the U.S. to observe the boycott of South Africa until apartheid practices are completely ended.

He is concerned that Avery

Brundage, the aging chairman of the IOC, may overrule the IOC next summer in Munich in order to allow South Africa to compete.

Brutus would also like to see more pressure placed on Gary Player to make a definite for or against apartheid. Player is a South African who is one of the most well-known golfers on the U.S. professional tour.

PLAYER HAS ALWAYS maintained that he is a loyal South African and that he supports his government. Several times he has been subjected to harassment on the tour.

Prior to this year's Masters Tournament in Augusta, Georgia, however, he said it was "a shame" that American blacks had never played in the tournament.

"We've left him (Player) alone for too long," Brutus commented. "We've got to force him out if he won't take a stand on apartheid."

Brutus is preparing to travel to Munich this summer to work against South Africa's reinstatement in the Olympics games.

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Canadians To Extradite Two For Political Charges

By JOHN PHILLIPS

Karl Armstrong is not the only "political" prisoner being held in Canadian jails awaiting extradition or deportation to the U.S. Humberto Pagan, a leader of the Puerto Rican independence movement, has been held in Ottawa's Carleton jail since October when FBI agents questioned him for 12 hours after his arrest by the RCMP.

Pagan is wanted by the U.S. government for the murder of Juan Mercado, a police lieutenant colonel, who was shot March 11th, 1971, during a confrontation between students and ROTC students of the Univ. of Puerto Rico in Rio Piedras. *Palante*, the Young Lords Party paper, describes the confrontations as a protest against the colonialism of the United States and the presence of ROTC on the campus. Students fought the tactical police force with guns, bottles, and stones. Before the riot ended Mercado, another policeman, and a ROTC cadet were dead.

The government of Puerto Rico is trying to make Humberto Pagan pay for the death of Juan Mercado in a case fabricated by a government that knows Humberto is not guilty.

Pagan has already been ordered deported on the grounds that he entered the country under an assumed name, and the appeal board will determine if that order will stand. Meanwhile, an extradition hearing was set for March 27th. (The U.S. government however, hopes to avoid such a hearing, for it means presenting a *prima facie* case against Pagan on the murder charge—something guaranteed under Extradition law but denied by deportation proceedings.) Informed sources report that the Canadian gov't has heard the crown's shaky evidence for the murder charge and that the defense evidence has yet to be presented.

Signs of a movement to defend Humberto Pagan were evident during the week of March 8th. It was reported in Canada that Puerto Rican nationalists had threatened the life of a Canadian diplomat and burned a Canadian flag. The charred Canadian flag was sent to the San Juan consulate with a communiqué warning that the people of Puerto Rico will not forget or forgive the Canadian government if the 20 year old Pagan is ordered returned to Puerto Rico. The communiqué ended: "Long live free Puerto Rico."

AMEX, AN AMERICAN exile paper, reports that an ad-hoc committee on political crimes was formed and is seeking people interested in helping Humberto Pagan and Karl Armstrong. The

What is more damning is the charge by Pagan's attorney, Roberto Jose Maldonado, that Canadian authorities seem to be working hand-in-hand with U.S. authorities to have Pagan returned to Puerto Rico.

Pagan, after being released on bail in Puerto Rico, receiving threats to his life by letter and telephone, and amidst talk in two different police stations about a plot to kill him, flew to N.Y., took a bus to Ottawa late in August, and entered Canada under an assumed name.

PAGAN'S ATTORNEYS. Clayton Ruby and Roberto Maldonado, presented evidence that their client may be murdered by police or right wing political opponents if he is returned to Puerto Rico. Meanwhile, Dr. Luis Nieves Falcon, director of the Social Sciences Research Center of the University of P.R. testified that Pagan would never get a fair trial in Puerto Rico: "supposedly a person is innocent until proven guilty. But in my country this is not true. The prosecuting attorney doesn't have anything to do in the trial of an independentist, regardless of the charge against him. In the minds of the jury he is already guilty."

Article II of the 1889 Supplementary Convention Between her majesty and the U.S.A. for the Extradition of Criminals states: "A fugitive criminal shall not be surrendered if the offense in respect of which his surrender is demanded be one of a political character, or if he proves that the requisition for his surrender has in fact been made with a view to try or punish him for an offense of a political character."

The 1889 Act was passed under the following circumstances. The Ashburton Webster Treaty applied only to a very restricted list of crimes, and there was no procedure for surrendering fugitives accused or convicted of other crimes in the U.S. Negotiations between Britain and the U.S. to enlarge the list of crimes had broken down because of the British insistence on, and the American refusal of, a guarantee that criminals surrendered should not be prosecuted for political offenses.

This produced a very serious problem in Canada which found itself becoming a refuge for American criminals almost eighty-three years ago. Yet, there appears to be no clear-cut precedent for Canada to refuse to

extradite a person accused of a political crime or offense. Part of the problem lies in the definition of what constitutes an offense of a political character.

THE CANADIAN AUTHOR. G. La Forest, writes in *Extradition To and From Canada*: "The degree of proof required at the extradition hearing has not been closely examined, but certainly vague accusations by the fugitive that he is being sought for political reasons is not enough. Some connection with his past activities must be shown."

The political character of the offense may be raised at the extradition hearing, but the political authorities may also refuse to surrender on this

ground even when a court has committed the fugitive for surrender."

And finally a letter from Armstrong in Don Gaol in Toronto states: "...if enough public pressure is generated and applied in the right places and on the right people, we may get the kind of court we need to get a fair hearing."

And he advises: "...that the underground papers not only here (Toronto) but in Ottawa and Montreal (possibly Vancouver) should be given as much information and educational material as they can be persuaded to print. This material should have content that can relate to the Canadian experience."

WORKSHOP

A five-part instructional workshop will be held April 24-May 18 in the Memorial Union Workshop. The lessons will be held every Wednesday evening at 7 p.m., and enrollment will be limited. Additional information can be obtained by calling the Union Workshop, 262-1282.

LECTURE

Berth Lindfors, professor of English at the University of Texas who is a specialist in African literature, will give a public lecture April 25 at 8 p.m. in 210 Wisconsin Center.

He will discuss "The Role of the Story-Teller: Oral Tradition and the Individual Literary Talent."

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The Scum Manifesto

THE SCUM MANIFESTO by Valerie Solanas

By Rena Steinzor

Crashing into the rational, serious world of Germaine Greer comes Valerie Solanas. The woman who shot Andy Warhol, giving fuel to a fantasy secretly treasured at some dark moment by every woman in America, is, as she herself puts it, "self-confident, nasty, violent, selfish, independent, proud, thrill-seeking, free-wheeling and arrogant."

Solanas tries (sometimes desperately) to make her manifesto as outrageous as possible. She opens emphatically: "Life in this society being, at best, an utter bore and no aspect of society being at all relevant to women, there remains to civic-minded, responsible, thrill-seeking females only to overthrow the government, eliminate the money system, institute complete automation and destroy the male sex." And she closes furiously, "SCUM ("Society to Cut Up Men") will keep on destroying, looting, f-king up, and killing until the money-work system no longer exists and automation is completely instituted or until enough women co-operate with SCUM to make violence unnecessary to achieve these goals, that is, until enough women either unwork or quit work, start looting, leave men, and refuse to obey all law inappropriate to a truly civilized society."

IN BETWEEN, NO one escapes. Not daddies, not hippies, not businessmen, not mommies — no one who in any way conforms to the traditional set of societal values or modes of operation for any reason or to any degree.

Solanas is incapable of charity toward women who cop out, and she claims to believe that the vast majority of men deserve to die—not tomorrow but today. Her white hot anger is forged in the crucible of the highest idealism—the desire to see women achieve the best that their creativity and love can reach. But between the fury and the ideal, the effort sags and flounders. I can share her anger and I can't share her vision. The image she has of an army of women calling for a stop to the insanity and death of this culture is a dream shared by many who, unlike Solanas, are presently forced to work for it patiently and tediously, every day. But in her anger, there is little room for those many millions of men and women who want desperately to change but need only a little room, a little time, and a more practical program than she offers.

These women, and we are at the core of the movement as it stands, cannot write off all men and find little in Solanas' manifesto that gives either comfort or direction to anger. Without the former, we will not be strong enough to face the revolution we claim to be undertaking. Without the latter, we will end — like Solanas — as freaks who are shunted off to the side and chuckled over.

AND YET EVERY movement needs its anarchists, its lost souls, its rebels, screaming "We ain't gonna take it" to whoever will listen and ultimately, opening the ears of those who won't by rolling right over them.

Book Reviews

Solanas

Brautigan

Reuben

David Reuben: Any Woman Can

ANY WOMAN CAN by David Reuben

By JULIA SHERMAN

Any Woman Can, by Dr. David Reuben, is certainly not a serious book. The book has no index, footnotes, references, or bibliography. Like its predecessor, Everything You Always Wanted To Know About Sex, this book aims to "tell all" in an easy-to-read form.

However, rather than emphasizing sexual information, it offers "a modern woman's guide to a happy love life." David Reuben, an M.D. and psychiatrist, shuns overt moralism, but his book falls far short of the frank hedonism found in much professional literature on sex. The overall impression gained from reading his books is that Reuben is a "nice guy" except for several things.

Can you believe a fellow who tells you that all other male experts don't know anything about women? What makes Reuben different? It is difficult, furthermore, to respect the intellectual integrity of an author who states, on the first page of his book, that "the only real

distinction between men and women is their sexuality — in every other respect they are virtually identical," but who buries in the middle of the book the claim that "sex hormones is what makes the brain and thoughts of a woman profoundly different from those of a man." It is hard to escape the impression that Reuben is attempting to ingratiate himself with women and buy off feminist opinion.

Another major misleading point lies in Reuben's treatment of female sexuality. Let's hear Dave tell it in his own words: "the primary thrust of every woman's being is to be fertilized, to conceive, and to reproduce. No force on earth can stand in her way." "Beth" goes "into heat." She has a "compelling necessity to respond to the urgent demands of her surging hormones."

Let's hear some more. Speaking of the menstrual cycle, he says, "within this roughly twenty-eight day period, which mysteriously corresponds to the phases of the moon, every female goes from a demsexualized uninterested bystander to a hormone-primed amazon whose entire physiology is aimed (usually beyond her

awareness) at instant reproduction." Reuben implies far more pressure to sexuality in women and far more cycling of sexuality in women than there is evidence for. Frank Beach, a leading researcher on sexuality, has concluded that sex is more like appetite than like a drive. Reuben makes it sound like an inexorable force.

No doubt he feels it is therapeutic for women to suppose that their sex urges are so imperious that they need not feel guilty about satisfying them. There are better ways, though, of handling guilt feelings than by easing them with misinformation. Besides, women who do not correspond to the picture of the "hormone-primed amazon" are going to wonder what's wrong with them and their husbands may wonder too. Dr. Reuben thus sets the stage for "fun guilt." The girl feels guilty not because she's immoral, but because she's not enough fun.

Does Dr. Reuben have anything useful to say?

Yes, his characterization of the marital relationship is very interesting and has a great deal of truth in it. A woman wants "the perfect happiness and perfect har-

mony she had — or wished she had — with her mother." To a woman, the closer her husband approaches the role of "ideal mother," the happier her marriage will be. And for a man, the closer his wife comes to being his "ideal" mother, the happier he will be.

REUBEN HIGHLIGHTS THE infantile, unconscious basis of the marital relationship. He then describes in detail how this knowledge can be exploited: how to recognize poor marriage bets, how to size up men merely by observing them as a behavioral scientist might, how to predict from the future relationship, how to gather important clues from observing how they eat, how they treat their cars.

Many of the techniques suggested seem valid enough, but one shudders to think of how they may be applied. Taken with a box of salt, the good doctor's advice probably won't be harmful; however, for the uninitiated this book will confuse as much as instruct. Women desperate to marry may find it helpful and men who want to know the "opposition" game plan will find it mandatory reading.

Revenge of the Lawn

REVENGE OF THE LAWN
by Richard Brautigan

By Stephen Bett

In an interview with another San Francisco poet, David Meltzer, Lawrence Ferlinghetti has said, "Brautigan's books outsold (in 1969) Ginsberg's, which is quite a surprise. Brautigan got identified with the hippie generation, though he was around long before hippies. He was around in the beat days, and the beat nights."

Now, some 13 books later, Richard Brautigan has published a collection of short stories, a real mixture of styles opening up a new, broader side of the author (and his publishing operative) responsible for four popular novels inherently equal in their ethical relativity — a blow-up of Brautigan the inventive imagist, hips satirist, anecdotal storyteller, American journalist of all our roots. *Revenge of the Lawn* is generally a very disturbing "collection" giving rise to a number of questions concerning Brautigan's rather curious "literary direction."

The book does have its points, and it does reflect the whimsical and sad and funny and serious reality of Brautigan's other prose works. Reading Brautigan is still an airy kind of experience, and accepting his work still becomes a worthwhile exercise in allowing oneself to view a man who has allowed himself his own style. After all, one is always given the choice of either viewing things from within Brautigan's frame of reference, or from somewhere out in the field of what we might associate with "the rest of the current, a-parallel, counter-culturally oriented American literature."

ESSENTIALLY, WHAT USUALLY comes through is a sense of the writer himself. Brautigan permits us to see him as vulnerable, human and folksy, even "balding-middleaged years later." When his tone is plaintive, he incorporates just the right touch of love; when he portrays the inane sadness of human life, he doesn't step on it. He controls a somewhat dislocated expression of nostalgia by letting his (and our) imagination flow through to its completion, or just as effectively, its incompleteness. The illusion of impact is created under the constant tone of whimsy, by implementing the Haiku-like structure of packing a whole vision of life in a few contained words, such as, "the saddest love making this side of the Cross." His images are often larger than life, and the connections are poetically defined, relating idea to form, quality to structure. He writes as though constantly amazed, giving that "pleasant" feeling to his work, and the humour is then fed by the obvious, giving the images a maximum nutritional value. In his satire, reality becomes the "event" of humor and the quality of satire lies in the transformation itself — from an empirical reality to fantasy and back to reality, or perhaps an even stranger reality, fatter than surreal.

There are glimpses that Brautigan has arrived at the advent of the non-image, working much the same as the non-pattern, that is, becoming its own form of pattern. In this we see the avant-garde quality of his prose as it hollowly echoes the banality of the American myth turned sour. He plays the image into the image, reducing it to its inevitable absurdity, and our society becomes one that "had been dying for so long it had lost the way to death." The albatross of affluence has been sidestepped when we realize the non-images once more become images.

Unfortunately, however, *Revenge of the Lawn* does not altogether speak for itself. In places it speaks for Brautigan's previous, fine books; at best even comes back to them. For the most part it is labored to the point where any directional motivation seems to be screened by a simple desire to write something down. Stories of childhood occurrences become "cute" to the extent that one feels one is reading a collection of stories intended "for friends and relatives only." The tone drops to the puerile with lines like "a squealing lament equal to an opera being run through the garbage disposal," and such B movie humour to tickle a feeble Rod McKuen sense of the misplaced "Burroughs macabre." The trick of self-mockery becomes a clumsy key to the folksiness, sounding arrogant and self-assumptive. The most command Brautigan musters is centered on the subject of California, where he pursues the relativity of our cosmos with a distinct flourish for the provincial. Here we find the void climaxes over Los Angeles, San Francisco, San Diego and Berkeley.

WHEN A WRITER such as Brautigan is afforded the luxury of riding the crest of his own wave—that is, when he becomes trendy enough to entertain an assured reading audience, he often begins to either say the same thing twice, or go back to his early literary years and dig up all the crap he wrote as a kid. This book exemplifies the latter phenomenon to a high degree. Sometimes he is forced, heavy-handed, and striving for effect, though sometimes there lurks a glimpse of candid certainty. A matter, perhaps, of keeping his id and alter-ego at loose ends. When Brautigan does this, he's great; when he doesn't, he stinks.

The most disturbing part of the collection as a whole will remain the question of its publication. Perhaps Brautigan would sum it up something like this: "Hi, I'm Richard Brautigan, the famous hippie writer. This is what I did before you knew me." But what the books amounts to is literary exploitation, unless, of course, you are a total Richard Brautigan "fan."

Athletic Symposium Set

By JIM COHEN

It only made sense. Eventually, after all the protests, reevaluations and finger-pointing of the 60's, it was inevitable that people would begin to point their fingers at the area of society which, in its own quiet little way, had been furthering a system subject to about as much finger-pointing as anything.

While activists were exerting energies yelling about immoral wars, misplaced values and priorities, and pollution, a commonly accepted, and often worshipped, institution of American society continued promoting many of the same ideas that activists were protesting within other institutions.

Athletics—amateur, professional, collegiate, or otherwise—was right smack in the middle of the world, acknowledged, publicized, and supported by a large part of American society but nevertheless not questioned.

Suddenly, though, the spirit of the 60's hit America's favorite past time. Athletes began to think more. They talked. And they wrote.

Jim Bouton, a husky blond righthander for the New York Yankees, whom some people still remember as the guy on the Ed Sullivan Show who did imitations of Frankie "Crazy Gugenheimer" Fontaine, and others remember as the guy who helped win the Yankees a few American League pennants, opened his eyes, took notes and wrote a book.

And, boy, did he write! Suddenly America's heroes, the guys you could think about or dream about when your mood was down, were not quite the heroes they had been made out to be. They were, it was discovered, human. And who wants a hero as human as himself?

How much fun was it to discover that Mickey Mantle, the great hero that he was to every boy in the Bronx, had tendencies just as disgusting and,

more importantly, just as human, as most other people?

To some, to whom sports had offered a rare chance to forget one's problems in favor of a hero-worshipping dream world, the simple truth could not be simply accepted.

To others, whose securities were not nearly as dependent on the existence of sports and its heroes, Bouton's Book, *Ball Four*, served as an eye-opener. Just what, they asked, was going on behind the pinstriped facade of professional baseball? Or, for that matter, behind all of professional athletics?

The movement had begun. Bouton, not the intellectual, not the radical some current sports activists claim to be, had a well-known name and used it, perhaps innocently, to open people's eyes to the American Past-time.

Suddenly, Jim Brosnan, a pitcher for the Cincinnati Reds who had written *The Long Season* several years beforehand, was appreciated for his straightforwardness. And others followed.

The issue of the sociology of sport has been brought up by Jack Scott, Director of the Institute for the Study of Sport and Society, for the past few years. After Scott had helped Dave Meggyes, a former pro football player, write his controversial book, *Out of Their League*, Scott followed with *The Athletic Revolution*.

Harry Edwards, an organizer of the black protest in the 1968 Olympics and currently a professor of sociology at Berkeley wrote *The Revolt of the Black Athletes*.

The Wisconsin Student Association's symposium, "Sport in a Changing World," will bring people from the sports world with various philosophies together for three days of speeches and panel discussions April 27-29. A complete list of speakers and schedule will be in Tuesday's or Wednesday's Daily Cardinal.

VOLUNTEERS
The V.A. Field Office is currently seeking male volunteers to act as friends for recently returned Vietnam-era veterans in the community. Volunteers should be here through summer if possible. Call Don Carlino, 256-1922.

YMCA INTERVIEWS
Interviews will be held on Wednesday, April 26th, in Studio C of the Memorial Union from 10 a.m. until 3 p.m. for YMCA counselor positions. For further information contact Don Jordan of the Milwaukee North Shore YMCA.

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Screen Gems

By ANN DEAN

April 24—*Roshamon*—This film was scheduled to show March 27 but didn't. Unless unforeseen complications occur it will be shown tonight, and it's well worth seeing. Akira Kurosawa's masterpiece centers on a rape and the conflicting versions of the crime related by its mutual victims, perpetrators and witnesses. *Roshamon* becomes a moving exposure of the perplexity of truth, an incisive reflection on the subjective nature of reality. Winner of the Grand Prix at Venice, Kurosawa's twelfth film became the first Japanese film to gain international recognition. He remains one of the few Asian directors whose films are shown in the west. B-102 Van Vleck, 8 & 10 p.m.

April 24—The Bed Sitting-Room—Richard Lester's unconventional comic talents as a director are applied with fanciful fervor to this essentially serious, satiric piece on nuclear annihilation.

B-10 Commerce, 8 & 10 p.m.

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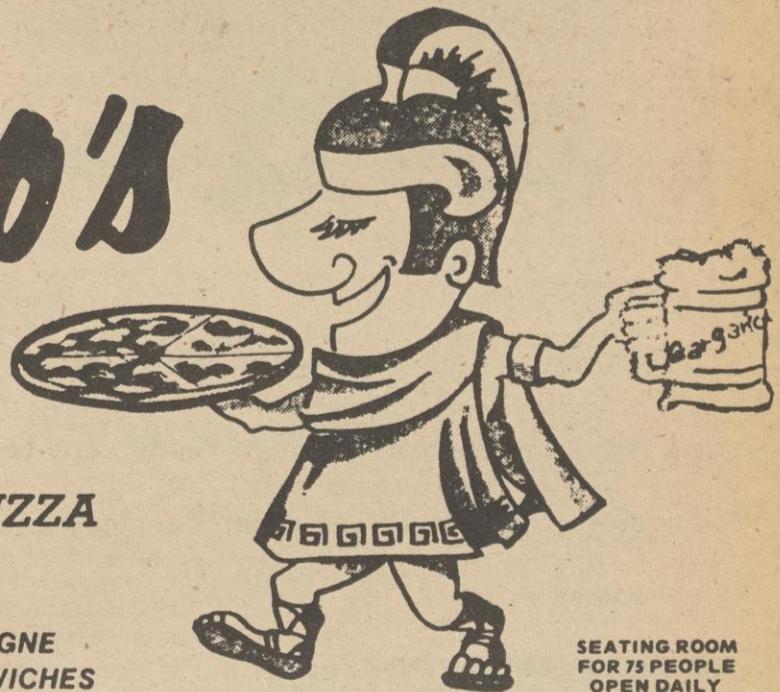
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Country Joe McDonald—On the Movement:

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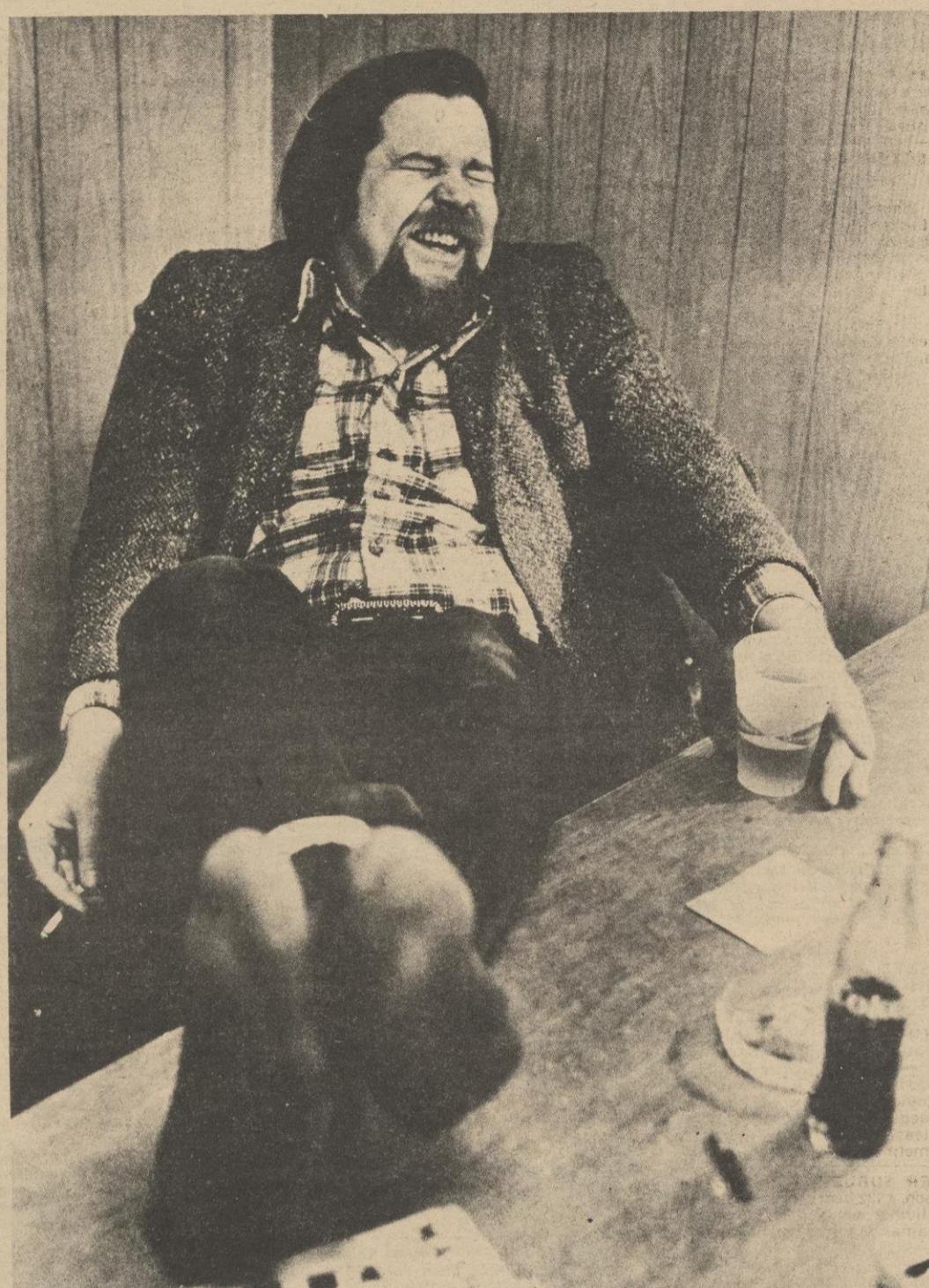
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Dave Van Ronk—On Politics:

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Edwards: Looking At Sport In A Systematic Way

By SCOTT THOMAS

The scene is 1984 and the place is the NBA commissioner's office in New York City. Commissioner Kareem Abdul-Jabbar has just released a statement to the press regarding the fledgling Pittsburgh Condors franchise. It seems a group of blacks have decided to buy the franchise, which completes the total domination of the sport by blacks.

It's now 1994 and 24 owners of the 32 NFL teams are black. The commissioners of the Big Ten, Big Eight, and Pacific Eight are all black, and Frank Robinson is Commissioner of Baseball. The aging Harry Edwards has been named President of the Olympic Committee.

For Dr. Harry Edwards, an

assistant professor of sociology at the University of California at Berkeley, those days are probably a lot farther off than he could ever dream of. But it would be victories such as those which would epitomize the success of Edwards' struggle for black power in sports.

EDWARDS, ONE OF the organizers of the much-publicized Olympic Project for Human Rights, will be one of the featured speakers at the radical sports symposium here next weekend, April 27-29.

Four years ago, Edwards shocked the nation with his proposed boycott of the Summer Olympics, but that tactic is no longer useful to the struggle. "Since 1968," he noted, "we've been working to tighten and bring some systematic structure to awareness. Only in his way can you change sport. Dramatization and demonstration are great for awareness, but they should not be confused with nationality and production. What we're doing is developing programs to begin to look at sport in a systematic way."

Although the proposed boycott of the Mexico City Olympics failed to materialize, Edwards considers the over-all results effective.

"People make the mistake of saying the end product, the goal, was to boycott the Olympics," he said. "That's like saying the goal was to hold a demonstration. A demonstration is always in sup-

port of or aimed toward doing something else. The thing our goal was aimed at was raising the consciousness of the black athletes in terms of the politicalness of sports and their relationship to the black community, especially to the black student community."

THE MOVEMENT HAS now grown and is geared at more provocative topical issues. With Edwards' direction, they are studying the "precedents, structure and potential impact" on blacks of the proposed professional basketball merger, and investigating charges of discrimination against women athletes.

Edwards, a former athlete at San Jose State, is therefore aware of the plight of the black athlete. One issue that is becoming more and more prominent in sports, as well as in every day life, is the use of drugs.

"The thrust to win, the thrust to excel, the striving to add up to the standards set by the superior athlete is one factor we must consider in terms of analyzing the drug problem," said Edwards.

The domination of blacks in the major sports, namely football, basketball, and baseball, is becoming increasingly noticeable. It is commonly held that the reason for this physical superiority is the innate ability of blacks.

EDWARDS IS, NEEDLESS to say, perturbed at the "myth of the racially superior athlete."

"By asserting that blacks are physically superior, whites at best reinforce some old stereotypes long held about Afro-Americans—to wit, that they are little removed from the apes in

their evolutionary development."

In this year of political activism culminating in the presidential election in November, Edwards is directing the black power movement in sports to the political interest of black people, as he believes that's where their real strength lies.

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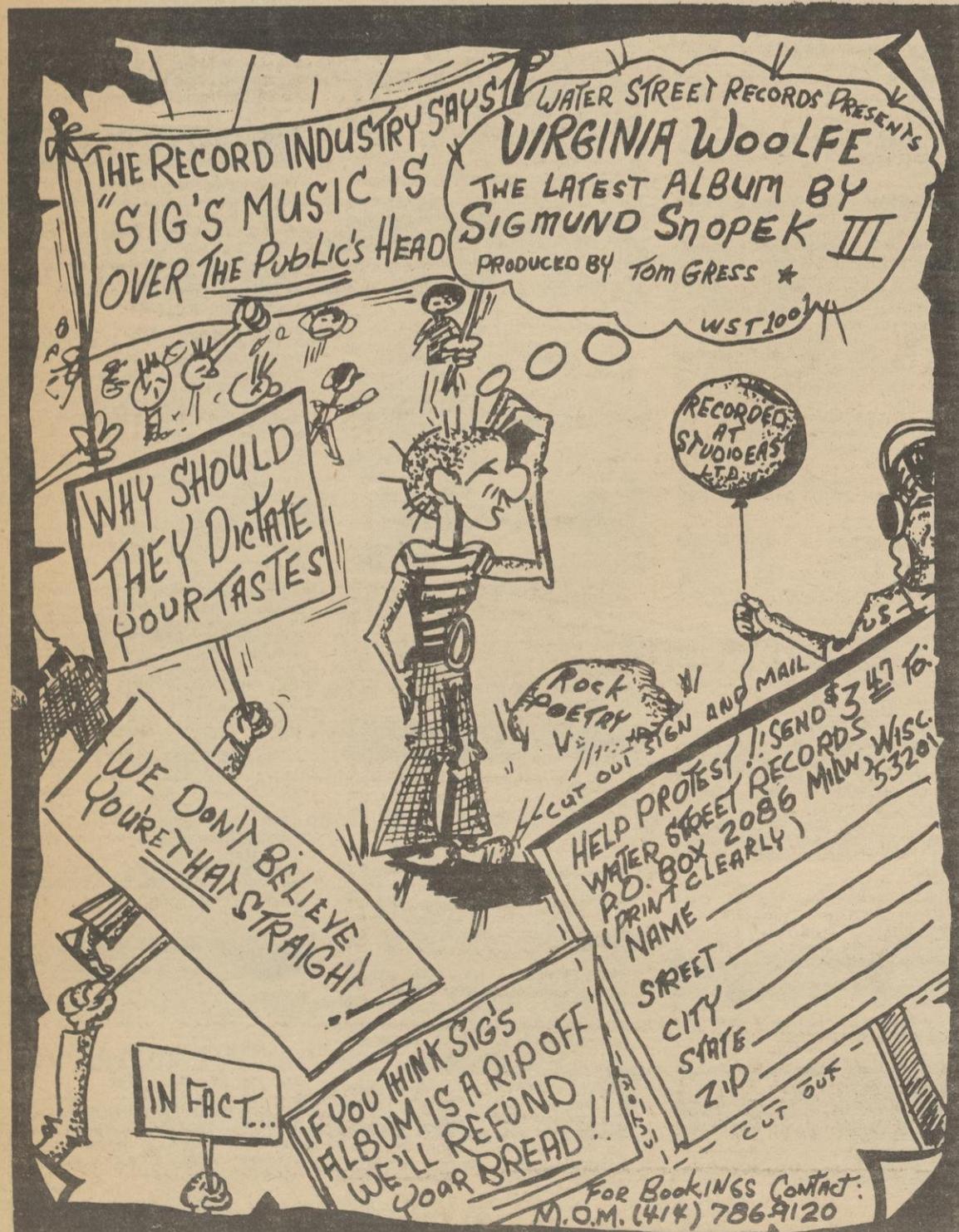
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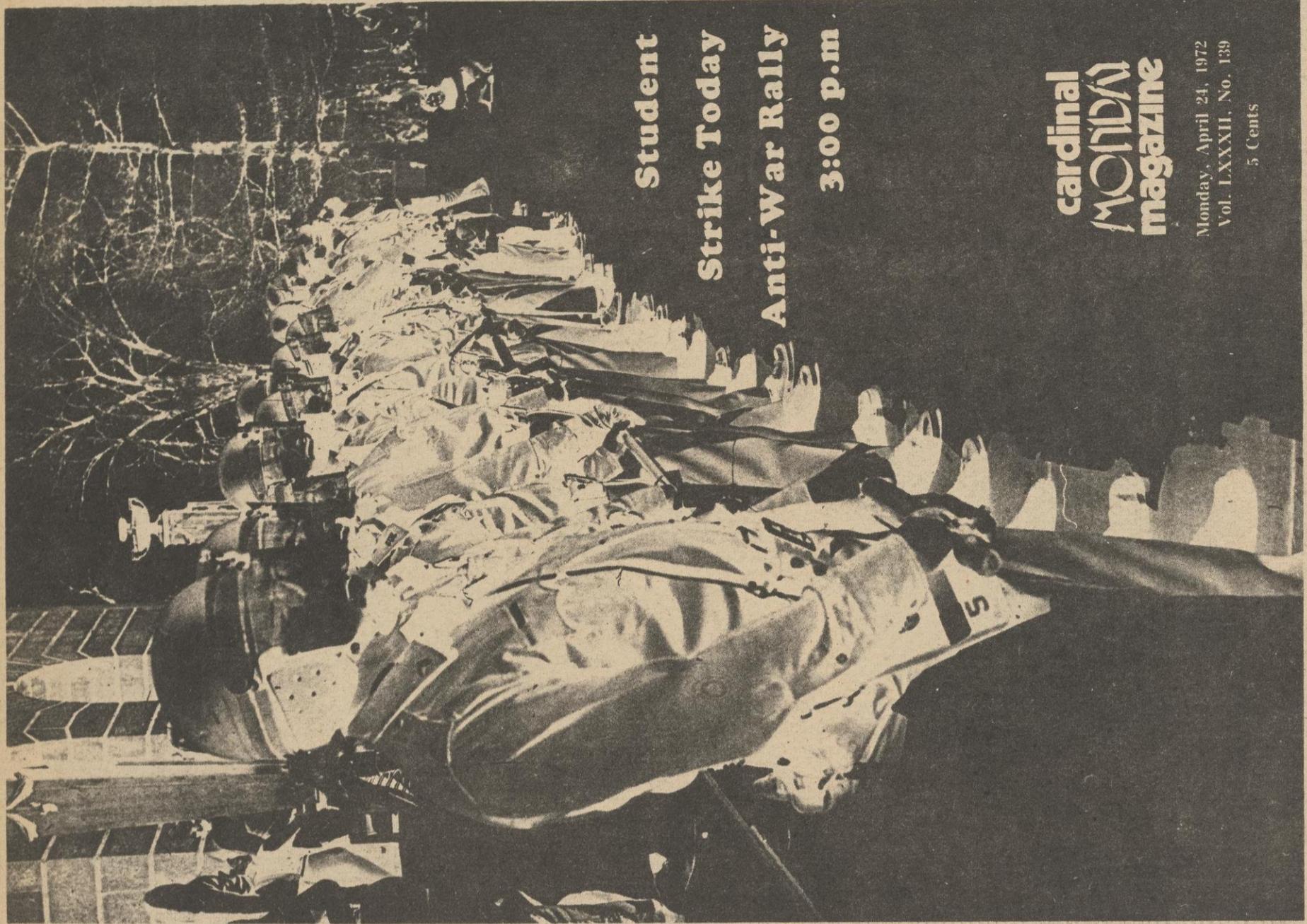
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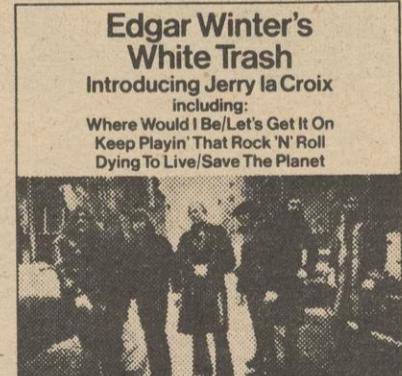
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